STUDIES IN THE *WELTANSCHAUUNG* OF GOTTFRIED KELLER

BY

HERBERT WILLIAM REICHERT

A.B., Columbia University, 1938

M.A., Columbia University, 1940

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
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The title "Studies in the Weltanschauung of Gottfried Keller" was chosen, as this dissertation focuses its attention on the basic concepts underlying Keller's *Weltanschauung* rather than on his complete *Weltanschauung* in its variegated expression. Reversing the usual procedure of discussions of *Weltanschauung,* this study first analyzes in detail the basic aspects of attitude as revealed in the key-concepts, and only after the lasting significance of these concepts has been fully revealed, are the specific fields of thought given consideration. The basic concepts, *Natur* and *Freiheit,* are ascertained and scrutinized by means of word-study, in keeping with the statement of Herder, father of the interest in *Zeitgeist* and *Volksseele*: "Studieren heisst zuerst den Wortverstand erforschen." A preliminary survey of Keller's use of words revealed, however, that word-study in the strict sense would not be a desirable method of approach for three reasons. Firstly, Keller who throughout his life was deeply concerned with the problem of final values and was consequently very conscious of his own basic ideals, often circumvented the use of key-words in the expression of those ideals. Secondly, Keller preferred, especially in his prose works, to conceal ideas in symbolical pictures, which led him to avoid all but what might be termed stylistic key-words. Such stylistic key-words may reflect attitude, but again they may merely reflect stylistic practice. Thirdly, the partial shift in key-words, which Keller's contact with Ludwig Feuerbach occasioned, is a complicated phenomenon, the importance of which a strict word-study might tend to exaggerate. The procedure decided upon was that of modified word-study, which deals with the basic concepts inherent in key-words not only in their connection with the key-words, but also in all other connections wherever they may appear, regardless of whether the basic key-words are in evidence. This shift in emphasis from word to concept made possible the exploitation of additional fields of information in Keller's

writings without yielding any of the strong points of word-study. The principle is still retained that a truly basic idea is associated with a key-word in the mind of the individual who lives and feels that idea, even though he does not always express that idea in terms of the key-word. The study of key-words continues to remain an important part of procedure. The connotative meaning of key-words as ascertained from their living usage in sentence and paragraph continues to be the tangible connection with the inherent concept. Only after the key-words have furnished the essential clues are the limits of word-study over-stepped.

The study of the basic concepts, *Natur* and *Freiheit*, has been undertaken in a chronological order. The temporal element is of particular significance as the opinion prevails that Keller's *Weltanschauung* is characterized by change. Furthermore, it has been necessary to divide the analysis of Keller's key-concepts, *Natur* and *Freiheit*, into two parts in order to deal adequately with the problem of Ludwig Feuerbach's influence on Keller. Chapter I analyzes the key-words for their inherent concepts and then studies these concepts in chronological order wherever they appear in Keller's works prior to 1849. Chapter II analyzes the key-concepts for possible changes in meaning due to the experiences Keller underwent in 1849, and then traces the key-concepts in Keller's writings till 1886. Chapters III and IV furnish supplementary evidence to substantiate the thesis of the first two chapters. Chapter III shows how the basic concepts influenced Keller's thought in the fields of ethics, art, politics, and social relations. Chapter IV discusses Schiller as the source of Keller's basic concepts and the significance of Keller's life-long admiration for Schiller.

Extremely important new material for the study of Gottfried Keller was made available in 1936 by the publication of the *Nachgelassene Gedichte* in the definitive Fränkel edition. Here were included for the first time the *Urformen* of Keller's *Lieder eines Autodidakten* (1846), which are as significant for a correct understanding of the early Keller as the *Urfaust* was for the young Goethe. In 1939 a large number of additional *Urformen* of other early lyrics were published, as well as

some poems which had never been previously published.

The introduction includes a discussion of the nature of Keller criticism, which shows that three established methods of approach have constrained research into too narrow channels of thought and thus limited the scope of investigation. The most prevalent established approach, here termed the "romantic-realistic" approach, originated with Otto Ludwig and Keller himself. Scholars using this approach assumed that Keller was a romanticist in his youth and had been converted to realism by his experiences in Heidelberg in 1849. Some scholars sought to correlate this transition with the changing *Zeitgeist* of the century. Others confined their attention to specific periods of Keller's life which seemed to reflect so admirably the various movements, *romanticism, poetic realism, realism,* and even *naturalism.* None of the studies using this approach dealt with the whole Keller. They either saw only the aspects of one period, or the aspects of change. All of them neglected the aspects of attitude which had a lasting significance in Keller's outlook. This last fact becomes especially apparent when the "political" approach is considered. The "political" approach, most prevalent in Keller's own day, concerned itself with Keller the political man, and revealed that Keller had a life-long interest in *Freiheit.* The "romantic-realistic" studies had at most given incidental attention to *Freiheit.* The "political" studies, on the other hand, dealt in detail with *Freiheit* in Keller's outlook. However, as their interest was in Keller's political views, the *Freiheit* with which they concerned themselves was purely political freedom. A third and smaller group of studies used an approach which dealt exclusively with the basic essence of Keller's *Weltanschauung.* These studies showed that a profound inner experience had been active within Keller throughout his entire life. However, whereas these studies revealed the basic importance of the permanent essence of attitude as against the more obvious aspects of change, and whereas they showed that Keller was far more than a "political" personality, they in turn failed to reveal Keller's full *Weltanschauung.* Even though the more recent of these studies claimed to be studies

of *Weltanschauung,* they concentrated solely on a discussion of inner experience, without showing sufficiently how that inner experience was brought to expression in Keller's attitude. They subordinated *Weltanschauung* to a demonstration of the degree to which *Weltanschauung* was experienced. Thus, though there is a great deal of conflicting opinion in Keller criticism, there is sufficient uniformity of approach to have prevented a recognition of the full significance of the basic concepts, *Natur* and *Freiheit,* as persistent aspects of a fundamentally unchanging attitude.

Chapter I deals with *Natur* and *Freiheit* in Keller's views from 1837 to 1849. The year 1837 was chosen to begin the period because the two concepts were first used in their full significance in a letter written by Keller, June 29, 1837. *Natur* reflected Keller's cosmology and was found to refer to the tangible forms in nature, but even more to the harmony of natural laws which a divine Providence had established. *Freiheit* reflected Keller's philosophy of man, and referred to the moral freedom subsequent to and implicit in the intellectual freedom (*Geistesfreiheit*), which enabled man to recognize his subservience to natural law. As man was subject to the immutable laws of nature, he was free from arbitrary disposition by higher forces, and thus was assured freedom of decision *within the framework of natural law.* However, *Freiheit* was only attained by a "reines, denkendes Herz" which sought its place in the natural order. Though capable of free will, man was not free until he was intellectually free.

These connotations of *Natur* and *Freiheit* were affirmed by referring to the essay of 1837 "Eine Nacht auf dem Uto" and to the views of the young *Grüner Heinrich.* A discussion of Keller's nature lyrics showed that Keller's conception of nature as imbued with a divine harmony of good, immutable, and purposeful laws remained in his outlook till 1849. A consideration of Keller's diaries and *Zeitgedichte* showed that in even the most political and anti-clerical lyrics, *Freiheit* as intellectual freedom was implicitly present. It was shown that one reason why scholars had not recognized the significance of *Natur* and *Freiheit* in Keller's early attitude and had con-

sidered him to be a romanticist in his conception of nature prior to 1849 was that Keller's attitude in many of these poems had until very recently been completely obscured. Only in 1936, when the *Nachgelassene Gedichte* were published for the first time, did it become apparent that the poems revised and published by Keller's patron, August Ludwig Follen, had been altered to reflect the latter's romantic philosophy rather than Keller's conception of a divinely ordered universe of which man was a part. Emil Ermatinger and other scholars who had previously had access to the Keller *Nachlass* had overlooked this substitution completely, in the confident belief that all Keller's "unromantic" ideas had come from Feuerbach in 1849.

It was shown how Keller's personal misfortune in the 1840's, which shook him free of "Wasserträume," made him more aware than ever that intellectual freedom was the key to a successful life. After his sobering melancholy moods had passed, Keller felt that even misfortune was good and purposeful as it conduced to a clearer understanding of reality, to intellectual freedom. In this connection he drew up the significant little formula: "Wert + Unglück = Bewusstsein = Glück." Misfortune brings to an essentially worthy person a *consciousness* which in itself is the true *Glück.*

A further discussion of *Natur* revealed that the essence of nature was *Ruhe,* that God was *Ruhe,* and that as early as 1845 immortality had signified a return to rest in nature. While the natural order as a whole was in harmony and at rest, however, the individual laws were seen to be dynamic and purposeful. *Freiheit,* which reflected Keller's philosophy of man, was integrally linked with the cosmology implicit in *Natur* inasmuch as intellectual freedom for mankind was seen to be the final purpose of the immutable law of time.

Chapter II dealt with *Natur* and *Freiheit* in Keller's *Weltanschauung* from 1849-1886. It was first shown that Feuerbach did not give Keller new ideas, but a philosophical system with which to assert his convictions. Keller viewed the years of the 1840's as lost time principally because he had been unable to assert his ideas in the face of the romanticist

opposition of Follen and his associates. Keller had not accepted Feuerbach's views until he was sure that he could retain his own conception of *Natur* in its essential features. Keller's surrender of a personal deity reflected little change in basic attitude as his faith in the rational purposefulness of natural law remained undiminished. Feuerbach's importance lay in the fact that he clarified and strengthened Keller's conviction that natural law was universal. *Natur* as purposeful natural law became for Keller an unquestioned reality, a closed issue, which formed the implicit basis of all his thought.

Keller retained his belief in *Freiheit* as intellectual freedom, despite his clarified conviction that man was completely subservient to natural law. His philosophical explanation of *Freiheit* in a predetermined world was based on a type of *Gestalt*-psychological reasoning which was premised on the concept "Organismus." The organism was more than the sum of its physical parts, just as a drama was more than a series of words and a table more than a number of pine slabs. An organism was put together for a purpose, its structure reflected an idea. The human organism possessed a moral kernel which was the idea and purpose of the organism. This moral kernel was inner necessity, the drive to free will, the moral law, the personal natural law of mankind. It was the function of humanity in a predetermined natural order to achieve free will. Free will was the intellectual freedom to recognize the predetermined nature of man and the need for voluntary obedience to inner necessity. Free will was the voluntary adherence to the natural law of mankind, the moral law, as opposed to involuntary obedience to the general laws of nature. Keller's conviction that the harmony of natural laws was good and purposeful led him to feel that as soon as mankind obeyed its own law and did what it was destined to do, all tragedy and evil would disappear from the world.

Keller's theory of free will was developed in *Der Grüne Heinrich* (1849-1855). The *Sinngedicht,* conceived in the years 1855-1859, shows a continuation of Keller's belief that intellectual freedom was the achievable solution to the problem of mankind. The union between Reinhart, the advocate

of scientific natural law, and Lucie, the representative of free will and moral law, reflects the symbolical merger of natural law, as seen by the scientist, with the moral law and the possibility of free will. At the close of the story both characters represent the intellectual freedom which Keller had dealt with in *Der Grüne Heinrich*: absolute intellectual freedom to recognize man's physical nature and the need to obey the law of the human organism; absolute intellectual freedom to bring about the harmony between body and intellect, acts and intent, which alone assured moral action.

The *Prolog zur Schillerfeier in Bern* (1859) is also a laudation of the intellectual freedom which enabled man to recognize his nature and voluntarily obey his inner law. It was shown in detail that Keller identified Schiller's *Schönheit* with his own conception of intellectual freedom. Hans Dünnebier correlated *Schönheit* with *Selbsterkenntnis* and Emil Ermatinger linked it with *freie Klarheit* but both scholars failed to realize the significance of their findings as they merely saw what they felt was a reflection of Feuerbach's influence.

In all of the Novellen of the cycle *Die Leute von Seldwyla* there are evidences of a continued belief in intellectual freedom as the attainable means to moral conduct. The last of these, *Das Verlorene Lachen* (1874), shows clearly what the others reveal only more or less implicitly. The theme of *Das Verlorene Lachen* is that lack of intellectual freedom on the part of both hero and heroine leads them into hardship from which new insight rescues them. The hero Jukundus speaks far Keller. In a considered statement concerning his religious belief, he made plain that intellectual freedom was the basic tenet of Keller's philosophy of man. Jukundus felt "als ob zuletzt Alle um Alles wüssten" and that as concerned "dieses Wissen Aller um Alles . . . handelt es sich um eine ungeheure Republik des Universums, welche nach einem einzigen und ewigen Gesetz lebt, und in welcher schliesslich alles gemeinsam gewusst wird."

Der *Landvogt von Greifensee* (1877) is a subtle but unmistakable eulogy of intellectual freedom. *Martin Salander* (1866) embodies the idea that the salvation of Switzerland

lay in the greater intellectual freedom of such youths as Arnold Salander who recognized the "Bedingungswerte der Geschichte" and the existence of the moral law, the personal natural law of man.

A discussion of the questioning of free will in the revised *Grüner Heinrich* showed that no change in basic attitude was involved. This is evident from the fact that the *Sinngedicht*, written a year later (1881), was a defense of intellectual freedom in full accordance with the plan of its conception (1850's). Furthermore, Max Hochdorf himself, the scholar who felt that Keller was essentially a determinist, noted that the revised *Grüner Heinrich* was actually a far greater tribute to intellectual freedom than the original version. Keller's questioning of free will is best explained as a part of his increasing unwillingness to reveal his basic ideas to the unappreciative masses. So subtle did his treatment of intellectual freedom become in such works as the *Landvogt* and the *Sinngedicht*, that scholars were often unaware of its presence.

Chapter III begins with a discussion of Keller's ethics. It was shown that his belief in the goodness of natural law and man's complete subservience to that law made Keller unwilling to admit of a "Prinzip des Bösen" or of conscious wrongdoing. Unethical conduct was due to a lack of intellectual freedom. With regard to every unworthy character depicted by Keller, the deeds and the responsibility of the doer were sharply differentiated. No character was so wicked that intellectual freedom would not have guided him to moral conduct. Thus the greatest vice was seen to be the vanity which prevented an open mind and a correct interpretation of the moral law, the natural law of man, inner necessity. The greatest virtue, which Keller attributed to his heroes and heroines, was the modesty which allowed for an open mind. A discussion of the *Märchen, Spiegel das Kätzchen*, in which Keller could express his ethical views freely without fear of criticism by conservative moralists, showed that moral conduct was subsequent to intellectual freedom and disappeared with the loss of intellectual freedom.

The study of Keller's aesthetics first showed that his shift

from lyric poetry to epic prose did not signify a drastic change in attitude from subjectivity to objectivity, or from romanticism to realism. Keller had written some rather derogatory remarks in his diary of 1843 about feeling and subjective writing which do not indicate too profound a conviction that the lyric mood represented solely or even best the reality of life. It is of especial significance that as early as 1843 Keller did not trust his self-observation when he felt himself possessed by powerful emotions, and *above all* he wanted to be "Herr seiner selbst." A number of facts indicate that even Keller's most lyrical poems were the product of considered artistic composition. Furthermore, Keller had gone to Heidelberg and Berlin expressly to learn the art of *dramatic* writing. In later years he still considered lyric poetry as an important and desirable medium of literary expression.

Keller's systematic aesthetics only began after he had acquired a logical system of thought from Feuerbach. His aesthetics demanded that the poet be intellectually free to recognize the universality of natural law and to avoid "Spiritualismus." The subject matter of the artist was to be "die Natur, ohne alle Neben-und Hintergedanken." Naturalism was not implied, however, as all tangible reality was for Keller imbued with purposefulness. The *idea* was to remain in art, but henceforth the artist had to abstract his motif from the material itself. The artist had also to realize his subservience to natural law and the need to create in a manner resembling "das notwendige und gesetzliche Wachstum der Dinge." In the drama,—and Keller applied this principle to his prose works, "vollkommene Übersicht des Zuschauers" of the plot development assured the poet that he was creating from inner necessity. Clarity, simplicity, and plastic symbolism became Keller's media with which to assure *Übersicht*. In later life Keller insisted that everything connected with art develop organically from inner necessity. The art of the future had to be suited for a *Volk* which would be "gebildet und bewusst".

The dominant influence of the concepts, *Natur* and *Freiheit*, in Keller's political attitude is apparent in his conception of the *Volk*. Just like individual man, a *Volk* was subject to

natural law. A *Volk* had an organic cycle of life and an inner mission. There existed between members of a *Volk* an organic bond. Such an organic bond did not necessarily imply racial similarity, however. Keller's insistence that race and *Volk* were unrelated terms reflected not merely his patriotism, but also his *Weltanschauung* which required that *all* men possess the inner law of the human organism, and that *all* men achieve the final goal of intellectual freedom. Thus a *Volk* was not an end in itself but a means to an end. It was a specialized segment of humanity, destined to do a specialized task. After its task was fulfilled a *Volk* had no further reason for existtence. The important thing was *that the development to intellectual freedom* remained unimpeded.

As Keller was interested in the whole of humanity, the final human product was to be more than a member of a *Volk*. He was to be a "besonnener, freier, Staats- und Weltbürger". Intellectual freedom was prerequisite to becoming a "wohlgebildeter Weltbürger", as such a *Weltbürger* had to possess the "ruhige, feste Gleichmut" which came from an awareness of the purposeful activity of the moral law in history. *Natur* strongly influenced Keller's conception of the ideal government, namely a system of self-imposed laws similar to the system of natural laws. However, Keller was convinced that a republic of this nature would not be realized until intellectual freedom became universal, as rulers always saw to it that the people were misled with regard to the true nature of government. Keller's shift from liberalism to conservatism in Swiss politics in the 1860's merely reflected his continued adherence to his basic views. He disliked the complete overthrow by the democratic party of the previous political achievements of the Swiss people. He felt that the *Volk* had to develop in an organic fashion to achieve lasting progress. It was his conviction that true constitutions were not constructed by means of logic, but were "latent" in the inner necessity of the *Volk* itself.

To show that Keller's basic *Weltanschauung* was also present in his outlook on social relations, his views on institutions, the nature of work, and choice of vocation were considered. Institutions were for Keller dynamic entities born of

man's inner necessity which reflected his upward progress. Roman law had grown from man's *Rechtsgefühl*. Religion had to be studied at its source in the living faith of sects, not in the "fest gewordenes Gebilde der grossen geschichtlichen Masse". Political institutions were also in a constant state of organic growth and the *coup d'état* in Switzerland in 1847 was for Keller the result of inner necessity. True work (Arbeit) had to represent honest effort and inner necessity. A vocation was to be chosen according to one's inner inclination without regard for the acquisition of fame or riches. As in all cases, adherence to inner necessity in the choice of one's life-work was the only moral action to take, and was the only way to achieve true happiness. However, recognition of inner necessity and of one's *Bestimmung* required intellectual freedom.

Chapter IV deals with the influence of Schiller on Keller. It was first shown why scholars had overlooked the possibility of such an influence, despite the fact that Keller often spoke most highly of Schiller. Scholars had viewed Keller's early nature lyrics and essays as essentially romantic, and his *Zeitgedichte* as purely political. Philosophical ideas in Keller's prose works had all been traced to Feuerbach and what was undeniably an influence of classical philosophy was attributed to Goethe. In 1910 Müller-Gschwend had denied any influence by Schiller on Keller's lyrics as he felt that Keller was a political, activistic personality, whose fiery lyrics were totally unrelated to the classic calm of Schiller's ballads. Müller-Gschwend's statement evidently was considered authoritative as it remained unchallenged, though almost all the pillars on which he built his argument are no longer valid. Scholars now agree that Keller was not an activist personality, that his interest was not purely political, and that his lyrics were far more profound than the lyrics of Herwegh and Anastasius Grün.

So ubiquitous was the relationship of Schiller and Keller in the works of the latter, that almost every scholar took some cognizance of it in one connection or another. Agnes Waldhausen noted that Schiller was known to Keller before he read Goethe. Hans Dünnebier saw that Keller stood closer to

Schiller than to the Swiss moralists. Ernst Korrodi felt that in 1859 Keller's conception of freedom had reached the "abgeklärte Freiheitsideen Schillers." Kerrodi also felt that Schiller had influenced Keller's late "Reflexionsdichtung". Ermatinger recognized that almost all of Keller's early dramas stood under the influence of Schiller.

These remarks served as an introduction to an independent study of relationship. It was first shown that Keller definitely knew Schiller's works well at an early age. *Der Grüne Heinrich* reveals that he had read even the philosophic works when but a youth "und soweit . . . verständlich . . . sie zu eigen gemacht". The autobiographical sketch of 1876 shows that Keller must have read Schiller before he was thirteen, as at that age he had made a setting for a play "nach Vorbild der Schiller'schen Nachlasswerke". The fifteen year old Keller very probably saw some of the many Schiller dramas which were performed in a converted *Barfüsserkirche* "wenige Schritte von Gottfried Kellers Elternhaus entfernt".

Keller's references to Schiller begin in 1840 and last throughout his life-time, always manifesting the same admiration and respect. In the "Vermischte Gedanken über die Schweiz" which had as its major point the basic need for intellectual freedom to preserve political freedom, Keller enthusiastically quoted from Schiller and referred to Schiller's passage: "Der Mensch ist frei geschaffen, ist frei, und wäre er in Ketten geboren". A sonnet of 1844 lauds Schiller as a defender not only of political but also of intellectual freedom. After the experiences of 1849 Keller's interest in Schiller continued. A letter of 1851 states that he was reading the Schiller-Körner correspondence "(nachträglich!)". The *Apotheker von Chamounix* (1853) pays tribute both to Schiller's character and to Schiller's *Weltanschauung*. Schiller opposes Heine on account of Heine's espousal of arbitrary freedom. Keller presents Schiller thus as a mouthpiece of his own convictions. *Der Grüne Heinrich* (1849-1855) praises Schiller as man, artist, and philosopher. The *Prolog zur Schillerfeier in Bern* (1859) shows that Keller felt Schiller's *Schönheit* coincided with his own conception of intellectual freedom. A poem and

a banquet speech of the same year show that Keller was deeply engrossed in Schiller's philosophy. The essay "Am Mythenstein" (1861) contained renewed praise for Schiller's *Tell.* With Schiller primarily in mind, Keller remarked on the *Hellsehen* with which great writers of a century back had viewed "Welt und Leben",—indicative of his favorable attitude toward Schiller's views. Further remarks which carry down to Keller's last years show that Keller's admiration for Schiller remained greater than for any other individual.

Schiller's influence on Keller's early formulation of the concepts, *Natur and Freiheit,* was explicitly shown by a consideration of two passages from Keller's early writings which earlier in this study had been shown to reflect his basic attitude. The first such passage, contained in Keller's diary of 1838, dealt with the importance of self-observation to preserve intellectual freedom. This passage was clearly inspired by "Anmut und Würde". It uses three basic concepts in a way peculiar to that essay: *Anmut, Bestimmung,* and *geistige Selbständigkeit.* From no other source in his literary background could Keller have acquired these concepts as he used them. Keller's passage concerns itself with the same problem as "Anmut und Würde", namely, how to maintain intellectual freedom. For almost every line of the passage a parallel line or passage can be found in "Anmut und Würde". In addition to this and of basic significance, "Anmut und Würde" sought to establish the absolute free will of man *without violating natural law.* Thus both Keller's passage and Schiller's essay viewed *Freiheit* in practically the same light.

"Anmut und Würde" did not express the reverence for nature which Keller felt, and consequently cannot be the full source of his attitude toward nature. Another passage, however, of even greater significance than the one just discussed shows the relation of Schiller's changed and reverent attitude toward nature, as voiced in his essay "Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung", with Keller's concept *Natur* as well as with his concept *Freiheit.* This passage was the basic early formulation of attitude contained in Keller's letter of June 29, 1837. The first pages of Schiller's essay, which formed

the philosophical basis of his discussion, contained a number of connected paragraphs which paralleled the thought of Keller's passage very closely. Though Keller used his own terminology, one tell-tale clue is evident. Keller said: "Ich mache einen grossen Unterschied zwischen dem, der die Natur um *ihrer Formen,* und dem, der sie um ihrer innern Harmonie willen anbetet . . . ". Schiller had said: "Auch richtet es sich ganz und gar nicht nach der *Schönheit der Formen* . . . " Both passages developed in similar fashion the ideal which remained with Keller throughout his life and formed the basis of his attitude: the ideal of absolute intellectual freedom which led to a restriction of arbitrary action, a freedom in necessity which the intellectual attainments of man would bring to humanity by leading it to a voluntary acceptance of natural law. For Keller as for Schiller, intellectual freedom, *Freiheit in der Notwendigkeit,* had been the basic interest of his life.

Thus it was shown that Keller's early formulation of the concepts, *Natur* and *Freiheit,* was strongly influenced by Schiller, that Keller consistently admired Schiller and felt an ideological bond with Schiller. These facts served to corroborate the thesis of this study that Keller's *Weltanschauung* had its essence in the basic concepts, *Natur* and *Freiheit,* which had already possessed significant meaning in his early thought, and which despite the experiences of 1849 and the reticence of his old age, remained basically unchanged throughout his life.

VITA

Herbert William Reichert was born in Brooklyn, New York, June 5, 1917. He attended the Central Grammar School and the Mamaroneck Junior-Senior High School in Mamaroneck, New York. In 1934, he entered Columbia College in New York City and received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1938. The next year he enrolled for two semesters at the University of Tübingen, Germany, beginning his graduate studies in German. Returning to Columbia, he was awarded the Master of Arts degree in German, June 1940. In 1941, he was made a University Fellow in German at the University of Illinois, passing his preliminary examinations at the end of the year. In 1942, he was again University Fellow in German at Illinois, and instructed one class as an emergency measure.